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GENUINE NARRATIVES
AND
CONCISE MEMOIRS
OF SOME OF THE MOST
INTERESTING EXPLOITS AND SINGULAR
ADVENTURES OF J. M'ALPINE,
A NATIVE HIGHLANDER,

FROM THE TIME OF HIS EMIGRATION FROM SCOTLAND
TO AMERICA, 1773.

DURING THE LONG PERIOD OF HIS FAITHFUL ATTACHMENT TO, AND
HAZARDOUS ATTENDANCE ON THE BRITISH ARMIES UNDER THE
COMMAND OF THE GENERALS CARLETON AND BURGoyNE,
IN THEIR SEVERAL OPERATIONS THAT HE WAS CON-
CERNED IN TILL DECEMBER, 1779; TO COMPLAIN
OF HIS NEGLECTED SERVICES; AND HUMBLY TO
REQUEST GOVERNMENT FOR REPARATION
OF HIS LOSSES IN THE ROYAL CAUSE.

Every circumstance related faithfully and with all delicacy, containing nothing
but indisputable facts, that can be well vouched, and are mostly known to many
gentlemen of good character in both the private and military lines of life; carefully
arranged, and published for the use of the public at large.

GREENOCK:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY W. M'ALPINE, BOOKSELLER, AT HIS
SHOP, CATHCART STREET.

1780.

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THIS reprint of the first book printed in Greenock in 1780 (a copy of the original, from which this is reprinted, is in the Greenock Library), being the Adventures of J. M'Alpine during the American War of Independence, is dedicated to the Highland Societies of Glasgow and Greenock by the Publisher.

A copy of this book was sold at the Beckford sale in London, in December, 1882, and realised the sum of Five Pounds sterling.

WILLIAM INNES,
Bookseller.

40 HAMILTON STREET,
GREENOCK, *September, 1883.*

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TO MY EVER ESTEEMED FRIEND AND PATRON,
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GUY CARLETON,
LATE COMMANDER OF THE
BRITISH FORCES IN CANADA.

HONOURED SIR,

AS it is customary for authors to introduce their performances to the public under some respectable patronage, so do I now most cheerfully pay this small tribute of my gratitude to you, whose unremitting services to Britain are too well known here to be recited, during the time of your being in the chief command in Canada and other parts of North America. And your various condescensions to me in particular, while I had the honour of being under your direction and enjoying a share of your confidence and friendship at Crownpoint, Canada, and their environs, I never will nor can forget or repay. I say it without flattery, and from my knowledge of facts, that it is to be regretted as a national loss, that you were not continued in the supreme command in Canada; nay, in conducting the whole operations of this unhappy American war, from my intimate acquaintance with the people, I can candidly aver that many thousand Britons—particularly Scots, and especially my countrymen the brave Highlanders—would, with me, have wasted their strength, exhausted their blood, and cheerfully died, sword in hand, under the command of that ever meritorious general, Sir Guy Carleton. Had the

Ministry been in the field to experience the troubles and dangers you encountered and surmounted, you never had been superseded. Unhappy for our national cause that you retired from command, since which period we have it to lament that the British interest seems to be too much absorbed in indolence and inactivity.

As you, Sir, best know of any man alive, the alacrity and perseverance with which I always contributed my poor but best services, and finally lost my all in the British cause, I could not appeal to any other person equally enabled to do my loyal behaviour common justice, and, I am convinced, more heartily disposed to give a humane recommendation of me to my good king and country for removing the many calamities I did and do suffer, in common with some other loyal American refugees who have not been rewarded according to merit.

I am, with every sense of gratitude and esteem,

HONOURED SIR,

Your much obliged and very humble servant,

JOHN M'ALPINE.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is for national use and information to the public that John M'Alpine, author of the following details, has now published to the world these genuine and brief narratives and memoirs of some of his particular adventures and interesting manœuvres, from the time of his first settlement in America, anno 1773, and during the long and hazardous period that he loyally and faithfully attached himself avowedly to the British armies in that country, where his repeated good offices and attendance were often solicited and acknowledged by several commanding officers and others, though his best services have been so perfectly neglected. Containing the various narratives and curious details of his making family settlements in the province of New York, America; his repeated expulsions from different estates by the American revolvers; the hardships he underwent, dangers he encountered, disasters he contended with, difficulties he surmounted, escapes he effected, losses he sustained, cruel treatments that he and his family endured; various hazardous good offices that he occasionally undertook for his country, and seasonably and happily performed in the royal cause; particularly his essential services and military exploits while he was confidentially employed by and faithfully continued with the British armies under the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Hamilton, Phillips, Powell, and other officers; and his readily acknowledged valiant behaviour in the attack and engagement at Freeman's Farms in September, 1777, where the rebels were defeated; his being finally captured in the service, and carried prisoner about three hundred miles

through bad roads, winter storms, frost and snows, first to Benington Gaol as a convict, in character of a Tory; thence drove along the country in confinement to Hertford; the usage given him there; his exchange upon parole, by cartel; his arrival at New York; the very unmerited inattention, or rather neglect shown him there by the officers in highest command, who ought to have patronised and supported him; the great injuries done him in his then line of employment, both at New York and Long Island, by sundry persons named, who should rather have protected and encouraged him; particularly the unremitting oppression he endured from Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, Barrack Master General, and his rapacious assistants in that department, and especially his avaricious deputy, Gilbert Wauch, formerly baker in Edinburgh; the calamitous hardships and losses he long suffered by their oppressive exertions, and his lawless and forcible expulsion from his land and property on Loyd's Neck, Long Island, through their perfidious misrepresentations and irregular efforts; and his many peaceable, though ineffectual applications to those in highest rank at New York for obtaining redress. And now he proposes to lay his unparalleled grievances and deplorable situation before the throne of our most gracious Sovereign, the Ministry, all good patriots and men of humanity, and in general before the nation and world at large: all exhibiting such a series of complicated difficulties, dangers, and losses to himself, and hazardous interesting services to his native country and our royal cause as perhaps no other individual encountered, certainly no other disengaged man has accomplished in the course of the time he was entangled in our present American contention (1773).

GENUINE NARRATIVES, ETC.

IN the month of May, 1773, I, John M'Alpine, author of these narratives, left Scotland with a view to settle in America, and in June thereafter arrived with my family and effects at New York ; where, having remained for a short time with a special friend, I was by him recommended to Colonel Reid as the most proper person to take or purchase uncultivated land, of which kind he had considerable lots in the back settlements of New York province. Accordingly a bargain was completed by my purchasing six hundred acres of uncultivated land from him at the rate of ten shillings currency per acre, the value payable in the course of seven years. In consequence of that agreement I moved up the country, and settled upon Colonel Reid's estate, where I had not been above eight days resident when a party of the banditti (called Green Mountain Boys) came from Hampshire in New England, and dispossessed me and my family, burning the houses, mill, crops, utensils, etc., on pretence that that particular tract of ground was not within the limits of Colonel Reid's grant.

Notwithstanding this violent assault in my outset, I took every possible way and method in my power of continuing (though inconveniently) on the premises that season, in the flattering hope of being allowed to retain quiet possession till once the humour of these infatuated people (now growing outrageous) would submit to the dictates of cool reason, and that I would have time and opportunity to cultivate more acquaintance, perhaps intimacy with them. But matters growing daily more critical with these turbulent neighbours,

I despaired of enjoying any peaceable or comfortable possession on that tract of ground, and therefore I came to the resolution of removing that fall to a more distant situation. This I accordingly perfected, and took up my winter residence in the month of November following (1773) upon the tract or lot of land that belonged to Major Allan Campbell, near to Crownpoint. Here I industriously persevered in improving the ground, and got about fifty acres of it cultivated to advantage, having reduced that eligible spot from a barren wilderness, covered with wood, into a valuable little farm, where, by dint of attention and perseverance, I lived very comfortably for about thirty months, having suited myself with necessary houses and other requisite accommodations. In this sweet repose I spent my time agreeably with my family and servants prosecuting further improvements, when I was of anew interrupted in the month of May, 1776, by a party of thirty armed American stragglers under command of a nominal captain or leader, who rushed impetuously into my grounds, where I was at work with my servant men labouring the fields, and calling us villains, robbers, and interloping Tories, ordered us to surrender; and having struck me with some severity, instantly made me prisoner, without giving any reason for this assault. Dragging us along in this violent manner, we were tossed promiscuously into one open boat upon the lake hard by, and there confined under a guard until that party had assaulted and taken Crownpoint (a British fort) at four miles' distance from my settlement.

This event happened soon after the enemy had taken possession of Ticonderoga, and then only it was that I got intimation that the rebellious Americans had revolted from their allegiance to Great Britain, or that they had committed hostilities against the mother country. After being some time

confined I caught an inviting occasion of conversing with Colonel Warner, who commanded that detachment, to know the real cause of apprehending me so rudely, and detaining me captive like a convict. He answered that there was no cause of criminality he knew of, nor any other reason for confining me but the well-grounded persuasions of my being a determined friend to the British Legislature, and an avowed enemy to their American independence, adding some persuasive hints for regulating my conduct in future perfectly agreeable to their maxims and procedure if I wished for any peace or protection; and with this advice I was dismissed, being allowed to return home, where I joyfully arrived that very night.

I had not continued in quiet and contentment at home about two weeks when a riotous mob of neighbouring settlers upon the New England grants, tumultuously assembling, again attacked and made me prisoner, seizing and carrying away all my arms and ammunition, except a small parcel that I found means to conceal without among the woods, and carrying me along in a very rough manner, under an armed guard, delivered me up a captive to a Captain Barns at Crownpoint (who then commanded there), declaring me to be a most obnoxious, dangerous person, and a professed enemy to the American United States, who should not have any liberty among them. Under the load of these accusations I was here kept close prisoner for several days, when happily my old acquaintance, Colonel Hay of the American army, came to Crownpoint; and he, being soon informed of the repeated injurious treatment given me and my present confinement in that fort, compassionately pitied my situation, gave orders for my conditional relief and liberty to return home and remain in quietness with my family so long as I behaved inoffensively towards the American Con-

stitution, and did not appear in any opposition to their cause by any personal services, information, or any way whatsoever.

I had not been many days in the enjoyment of this indulgence when I was again apprehended by another mob similar to the former, headed by a sergeant from Captain Barns' party at Crownpoint, to which place I was again hurried away captive under a strong armed guard, upon an accusation from that banditti that I was employed in buying cattle for provisions to the English army then advancing towards the American forces and back settlements, peremptorily demanding my immediate surrender and delivery of the arms and ammunition that I lately concealed in the woods or fields, and all this under certification of my being without mercy or delay sent to Albany Jail.

I was under no obligation to answer their accusations, and refused to comply with the demand made for my arms and ammunition; but being at last entreated by some friends—who feared my being thrown into prison, where I might possibly lie long neglected—with great reluctance I agreed to part with my firearms, ammunition, and favourite broadsword; and upon this compliance I was permitted to return home once more, where I had not spent many days when, by an indulging order from the foresaid Colonel Hay, all my weapons were returned me.

I remained at my habitation the rest of this season under a great deal of anxiety and disquiet, my family being in continual hazard of depredations, my cattle frequently killed, and my effects daily plundered by American parties incessantly straggling round the country; we having no consolation but our hopes of the arrival and support of the British forces, which not appearing, nor any notice of their motions to our relief, I and some loyal neighbours were in agonies

and despair, and gave up all for lost. The season of military exploits being nearly exhausted and the winter fast approaching, I went to Ticonderoga for some supplies, especially salt, and applied by supplication to General Gates, then the commandant there, whose aide-de-camp told me expressly that if I gave testimony of my being friendly to the cause of the United American States now under agitation I would be readily furnished with salt or any other article wanted by me, but otherwise I could neither expect or obtain any supplies whatever from them. This peremptory reply, delivered under so strict a qualification, by no means suiting my principles or occasions, I departed silently, meaning to get home timeously that night. During my stay at Ticonderoga that day I took the opportunity of making some enquiries and observations that were of some use soon thereafter. There I fell into company with Gillilan and Watson (two men of some property in my neighbourhood, on Lake Champlain), who were known to be disaffected to the royal cause. We dined together, during which time some expressions escaped me, that gave them offence, on the circumstances of times, which fully convinced them of my being dutifully attached to my king and country. They thereupon resolved and privately determined to have me secured and sent to confinement. This treacherous intention of these crafty men being accidentally made known to my acquaintance and old friend, Mrs. Hay (in whose house we were all then), she with her usual goodness of heart immediately gave me the hint, privately urging my instant departure. Recollecting our conversation, and knowing the men I had to do with, I gave peremptory compliance to Mrs. Hay's entreaties, and decamped from Ticonderoga in a small skiff of my own, hurrying with all possible despatch; but by contrary wind and the length of the

navigation, I did not reach my own house till the following afternoon.

There I was hardly refreshed, when a numerous scouting party of American riflemen came, hurried into my house, on their way to Crownpoint, and entreating some refreshment, which, with my usual hospitality, I readily afforded them ; victuals and drink of my best, though I truly could not enjoy my usual cheerfulness of temper, so much were my spirits depressed by the dismal appearance of present contingencies.

Having no view of any support from our royal army, and as little prospect of my own and family's escape from the calamities that threatened us on all hands : but kind providence soon removed all my gloomy apprehensions, for early next morning an enemy soldier passed my house, going express to Ticonderoga for strong reinforcement of ten thousand men from the Americans assembled there to the immediate support and defence of Crownpoint, which would be soon invested by the British troops under General Carleton, who had come by the Lakes from Canada, had already attacked and defeated the American naval strength upon Lake Champlain, and approached near Crownpoint in force. Frantic at such an unexpected, agreeable, and seasonable piece of acceptable news, I instantly took horse and rode away at full career to embrace my friends. But in place of taking my way privately through the woods and rough grounds, as I should have prudently done, I drove on impetuously and incautiously, in high spirits, along the beaten path to Crownpoint, and rushed inconsiderately into the throng of the confused tumult of the people and soldiers, where I was no sooner arrived than apprehended by the giddy multitude, all in uproar, with the general cry of "Seize that damned rascal, the outlawed and notorious Tory M'Alpine." At that instant I had the help of twenty men

to pull and draw me from my horse, was marched along to the fort, and there confined close all day under a strong guard of well-armed men, who incessantly insulted me.

During my confinement in such odious quarters I heard it whispered that general orders had been issued to all the residents in and about Crownpoint and its environs to secure their effects, drive off their cattle, and remove themselves, as all the houses there and round the country were to be instantly burned.

This alarming intelligence induced me in the most supplicating manner to request my enlargement, and enquire the reason why, of all the men residing in that neighbourhood, I alone should be singled out a victim for total destruction, kept in close confinement there like a malefactor, and seemingly to be debarred from the benefits of common humanity — was denied my liberty on that occasion to provide against the threatened total destruction of my family and property by this intended instant conflagration of all that district. Colonel Hartley, who commanded, sternly answered, with an emphasis of wrath and indignation, "Damn your blood, your friends are too near us; but they shan't get you, for you shall have the pleasure or pain of accompanying me in my batteaux to Ticonderoga." To which I smoothly answered (though in great agitation), that "a colonel in command and a poor farmer, a prisoner, would not suit so well or comfortably in the same boat." Instantaneously consequent to this discouraging conversation there was an express general order given to drive off all the stock and cattle from these and adjacent grounds to Ticonderoga.

Fortunately for some of my poor neighbours they drove their cattle prudently into swamps and deep woods, by which means, and their being set at some distance, these people saved their beasts; but unluckily my particular stock

were always distinguished by carrying or having four little bells on (as my certain mark or method of finding out my own cattle in the thick woods), by which means my property was soon discovered and known, particularly singled out, and carried off without any regret or compensation. But by the sympathising application and intercession of several American officers, my former acquaintances, I was at length dismissed, and allowed to go home with a sergeant to see and execute this barbarous design. Although allowed to save my most valuable effects and look after the safety of my family; though my cattle were lost, being still under charge of a sergeant and party who had peremptory orders to burn my dwelling and other houses that very night—such was their inveterate resentment at me on all occasions—but my own dwelling house and a few other straggling houses were accidentally saved, these partly through the hurry and confused flight of the terrified enemy, who only waited to give Crownpoint itself but a partial consummation.

Watching always for my opportunity of deserting from my guardian sergeant and his posse, I snatched the occasion when it turned near night of escaping towards Crownpoint, where arriving safely, I fortunately found in my search an old canoe lying neglected in a swamp, that had been somehow overlooked or not discovered by the terrified Americans in their very tumultuous flight. This crazy machine I got launched with the help of some boys who boldly came to assist me, and who accompanied me in paddling the hazardous tool for four miles in the dark lake, till I got up with General Carleton's fleet. Here I immediately went on board the *Commodore*, that vessel his Excellency was into; where, making myself and my errand soon known, I was readily and politely received, humanely treated, and kindly entertained by that most worthy of men, Lieut.-General Carleton.

Being honoured with his confidential conversation, I made ample discoveries to him of all I knew respecting the inhabitants and state of this district of the back country that he was now got into, and the dispositions and attachments of the people immediately about Crownpoint and its environs ; giving especially a minute information of their state, situation, and force at Ticonderoga, upon which I had made particular observations at my being so recently there, even so late as the preceding Friday.

His Excellency was pleased to hear my detail with condescension ; expressed his approbation of my remarks, intelligence, and behaviour, saying audibly that he believed me so loyally attached, faithful, and proper for purposes in speculation, that he would not on any account want me about his person and the public service continually, and that he must have me engaged to attend him and the army in their operations, wherever they moved or whatever they had to undertake. It was then hinted to me that the army stood in need of some provisions ; that they believed I was a proper person to get supplies, if I could venture on such an enterprise. To a man of my principles this was inducement enough. I therefore without hesitation offered my service on that or any expedition, however hazardous, were I assisted by a proper party of such officers and men as I judged expedient ; with whom I would not only scout the contiguous country, learn the situation of our enemies, but also might procure a sufficient supply of live cattle for victualling our army, that had perfected their journey and voyage upon salt provisions allenarly.

His Excellency cautioning me of the danger and fatigue necessarily attending such manœuvres, and genteelly favouring me with his directions, he consented to my having such a party as was proper and requisite, who upon the following

morning were accordingly selected, consisting of 260 brave fellows under the command of the gallant officers, Captain Frazer of the Rangers, and Captain Monie of the Canadians, I going as confident conductor of the expedition.

Thus we proceeded cheerfully through bad roads, swamps, woods, and rough grounds for the space of fifteen miles, and lay the residue of that tempestuous, rainy night upon our arms within a short distance of our enemies' lines, where we kept snug and undiscovered; I going close to and again among our party, which I repeated several different times, beseeching our men to keep quiet and private, and to be particularly careful to preserve their arms and ammunition safe and dry from all rain and injury, as all our success, escape, and even our lives depended on these judicious precautions; and I must do them the justice to say here, that the whole detachment paid every attention to their duty and my earnest recommendations.

In this dreary period of our necessary inactive time, and considering all circumstances, the commanding officers, and I too, despaired of any great success from our journey. In fact the matter was a little alarming, as we had not been able to preserve one single musket in due order nor all our ammunition quite dry, through the severity of the rainy, inclement, long night: at same time we lay close to the quarters of about twenty thousand enemies. I indeed feared we were in a forlorn situation and desperate circumstances, which no doubt urged me the more to hold our people in cheerful humour, and to persevere with spirit and resolution in the execution of our intended purposes.

So soon as daylight appeared I conducted our officers to an adjacent rising ground to explore the country round us and reconnoitre our enemies. This prospect in our circumstances afforded us so intricate difficulties that Captain

Fraser bravely offered to take the route of the most threatening danger, rather than I should undertake that point of service, he fearing my inexperience and knowing my natural warmth. This generous proposal I thankfully rejected ; so we agreed to divide our whole force into three parties acting distinct or separately, under these two captains and me in allotted numbers, and thus make some bold, even desperate push, with mutual exertions, for obtaining some prizes, concerting that we should have our rendezvous upon the very ground and at the same spot we halted on the preceding night. Thus we proceeded cheerfully and resolutely in three separate bodies, and after each party had closed to our enemy's sentries, surrounded and captured some parcels of straggling cattle, we severally marched away, undisturbed and unmolested, with our separately collected prizes to our appointed ground of rendezvous, and there joined again in one collected body without a single man amissing.

The number of cattle we had collected by no means gratifying my avidity, I requested the commanding officers to grant me a party of chosen men who would readventure with me to scour the woods and grounds again for more cattle. My proposal being accepted, and our wet arms left with the party who attended the cattle we had in custody, thirty-two brave volunteers instantly turned out to obey my orders, with whom I proceeded on the route I thought to be most eligible, where we discovered and carried away thence above thirty very fine bullocks, with which drift we joyfully pursued and seasonably overtook our friends of the royal detachment as they persevered on their long march homeward. Thus proceeding in one collected cheerful column, with imminent danger and the utmost expedition reasonable, for Crownpoint, we arrived in safety and high

spirits that afternoon, possessed of one hundred and seven head of excellent beef cattle (ten of which number happened to be part of my own stock that were formerly plundered by, and now recovered from the rapacious rebels); and presently turned into the whole drift a seasonable supply before General Carleton, who attentively viewed them, publicly thanked me for my hazardous projected plan of operations, and applauded all of us that were concerned in its safe, happy, and successful execution: it was a good supply.

General Carleton, with his usual and singular humanity and generosity, at this time desired that I would make up my own particular loss of cattle out of these now under our capture. But with thankful acknowledgment I replied that it never should be said of me I had courted for or taken the valiant soldiers' hard-earned prize to indemnify my losses; that I truly considered myself well paid in the meantime by infelt satisfaction of rendering the king, his cause and army, my best services, which I was ready to repeat on every occasion in my power; but should my Sovereign, or the then commander-in-chief (suppose his Excellency), be pleased to grant me some rebel's farm at the conclusion of this war, then thought near to a period, would accept it with gratitude. I must here observe, much to the praise of General Carleton and our officers of the foresaid expedition, that in the number of cattle we collected in our range there were some beasts belonging to loyal inhabitants about Crownpoint; these I was desired to call out and return to the former owners, all gratis, which I performed; and they were so sensible of the tenderness shown them, that they privately collected a little money among them to gratify the soldiers who had rescued their beasts. But the officers would not allow, nor the party accept of the intended benefaction. Such was the regular and generous behaviour of this spirited little army under

command of their gallant leader, General Carleton, and his officers of every denomination.

Crownpoint having fallen to the British arms, and the season adapted to military attachments being exhausted too much for our troops' procedure to reduce Ticonderago, it was resolved by the commander-in-chief and his council to return for the winter to Canada by Lake Champlain. As soon as the movement was determined on, his Excellency took so much care and notice of me and my concerns that a sergeant and twelve men were ordered up to my house for the purpose of removing my family and effects in safety, and carrying away whatever was valuable and portable, intentionally to transport all singly to Canada under convoy of the royal army; the General being justly apprehensive of my meeting with the most severe retaliations from the exasperated Americans for my spirited exertions to their detriment during all the time of my unalienable attachment to him and the British troops. I repeat it, that he would not on any consideration suffer me or my family to run the hazard of staying in that quarter behind the army, lest we should be hardly dealt with; nor at same time would he think of wanting my personal attendance and services on his now concerted returning expedition. Agreeable to these friendly precautions, my family and some part of my effects were brought on, and secured as well as circumstances would admit of; but all my crops of wheat, corn, and hay, utensils, and other articles of estimation to me were left behind, to the mercy and resentment of the revengeful Americans which they soon destroyed and carried away totally, and have been ever since lost to me.

My dwelling-house and other buildings were for most part destroyed, and the remainder of these were afterwards destroyed through some error or necessity of our own troops.

Thus did my property pay at that time, as on former occasions, for my true attachment and unshaken loyalty to my king and his cause; though I have been since that period very much injured by parties of the British troops.

Under the escort of General Carleton and his army, myself, family, and remaining effects were brought to St. John's, in Canada, where the attentive general ordered such houses as pertained to the rebel Canadians to be appropriated to those loyalists who had joined him, and in that number I was reckoned with some distinction. Whilst I was in search of the proper house allotted me, some intoxicated soldiers took the audacious liberty of rummaging my loaded batteaux, where unluckily meeting with my money, they villainously plundered away some articles of value, and among the rest they carried off several pieces of silver, with some joanes and half-joanes, that were never recovered again.

From St. John's I proceeded to Chamblee with my family, and hired a house, having the king's rations allowed us during the hard and inactive season by the humane General Carleton, who always evidenced he would not neglect the support of those good-hearted men who had risked and lost their all by their loyal adherence to their king and country; and more especially me, who had so conspicuously opposed the rebels, and on all occasions stood firm in the royal cause. As I always declined being invariably tied down to military command, so as to interfere with my liberty at pleasure, I remained here perfectly unconnected with any public employment, and without having ever formerly got, or now getting one shilling of pay, although my own little money was quite exhausted. I applied to some new acquired friends for supplies, who very generously favoured me with both cash and credit, to trade a little upon; by which means, and my

industrious application to business, I got surprisingly soon into a lucrative branch of traffic in the right mercantile line for that climate, and had fully established myself upon a good footing, with the flattering hope, next to certainty, of soon making myself quite easy in the world, and gradually acquiring a tolerable fortune, with a fair character in life. When in the extreme of my present prosperity and ease, and most unhappily in respect of my private interest, General Burgoyne arrived with the army; and making all necessary inquiries for the most intelligent persons and such as might be most useful in his enterprises, he was soon informed how meritorious and interesting my former services had been to General Carleton and his army, and that from my acquaintance with and experience in that back part of the country and lakes he was destined to, my accompanying him and his troops might be of essential service to them and the cause in many respects. Hereupon being sent for by General Phillips of the artillery, who politely received me, immediately an interesting conversation took place, in the course of which many material questions were put to me confidentially, which I answered with so much precision that General Phillips thought my attending the army in the expedition would be of the utmost benefit to the service they were going upon, and therefore he seriously asked me if I would accompany them, or wanted and would accept some military employment.

In answer, I thanked him for his condescensions and the proffer then made me, which on some former occasion would have been accepted; but being then established in a good trade, that afforded me good returns, I was averse to drop my present business in favour of any moderate appointment in the military line, much less would I engage in fixed military, or other subservient life, upon an uncertain footing or

inferior a rank—my inclination running chiefly upon a retired country life as soon as I could attain it, and in due time to return to my favourite estate near Crownpoint; adding that any indispensable emergency where my poor, best offices could be of use, I was so attached to my king and country that I would make a temporary sacrifice of my time and my person to promote our national service; having always a view of reward—public or private—suitable to my deserts and endeavours, namely, handsome pay to myself and suitable provision made for supporting my family in my absence, and finally, securing me and my successors in perpetual property of some valuable portion of crown lands. I hope the candid world cannot blame me for mentioning such preliminaries, when they impartially consider that I had bestowed my time, hazarded my life, and lost my all serving my king and country, without ever receiving any pay or compensation, from the beginning of my calamities by the present American contest down to this moment of time, in April, 1780.

But to return to the subject matter of my discourse with General Phillips. Being taken into serious consideration for some few days, and being frequently sent for and pressingly urged by Mr. Phillips, in the name of General Burgoyne, to connect myself entirely and immediately to their army, so as to assure them of my attendance in this expedition, declaring that all reasonable satisfaction would be made for my time and services—wearied out with solicitations, unable to resist perpetual entreaties, and depending with the utmost confidence upon the assurances of gratification given me by men of high rank and boasted honour, I was finally over-persuaded by these two generals to consent to relinquish my official mercantile business, and accompany them and their army to the southward.

Thus it remained for some little time that I had no par-

ticular office, employment, or department assigned me, until I was employed to conduct a number of officers' horses through the woods and mountains from Canada to Crown-point. Such a difficult task, through so untrodden a path, would not be easily undertaken by many men in the army except myself. However, I did engage in that arduous expedient; and having picked out sixteen men of the most active pilots I knew in the country, I set out with my charge (taking along with me a parcel of my own, the best set of horses in the hands of any private man in Canada, which were afterwards plundered from me by the rebels), and persevering through innumerable seeming impossibilities. I accomplished that fatiguing, dangerous, long expedition (of many days' journeying the length of that place on Lake Champlain called Split Rock, where indeed with unexpected safety, much toiled, and want of any regular rest), having only the assistance of one small pitiful canoe to ferry the drove of horses over many intervening creeks.

At Split Rock the horses were to be again boated for ferrying over Lake Champlain, and there I applied to Sir Francis Clark, aide-de-camp to General Burgoyne, for some boats or batteaux to transport the horses under my charge safely over. But this gentleman (though courteous to me on some former occasions) point-blank refused me any assistance in this matter, telling me freely that my difficulties were not unobserved nor my success hitherto unadmired, which had brought those in consultation to a determined resolution of forcing (who they saw would undertake any exploit) to try the new expedient of marching those horses round the lake, through woods and over the mountains, however hazardous, to ascertain the discovery and proof if such a course of road was practicable, or could be at all effected, purely to avail the troops and service of such a

manceuvre if ever such a line should or might be attempted on any future emergency.

This alarming unexpected refusal putting me to all shifts and enquiries to get my unavoidable design effected, information was given me that two batteaux, at twelve miles distance up Otter Creek, which had been lying there quite neglected since employed some time before in carrying up provisions to Captain Fraser's Indians. I went directly in search of these crazy batteaux, found and employed them in ferrying my drift of horses with toil and difficulty over the lake, and thence I brought them in unexpected safety to Chimlie-point, opposite to the fort of Crownpoint, where our royal army had very prosperously arrived and severally encamped. In this situation I renewed my earnest supplications for the use of some batteaux to carry the horses over that sound to Crownpoint side, where I had engaged to deliver my charge; but to my great astonishment, I again met with a positive refusal, though many batteaux were at the time lying quite idle.

Such rebuffs, in a matter of such indispensable duty and service, gave me an unfavourable idea of the management upon that expedition, and impressed me with apprehension that more sacrifices would be made to wantonness than to prudence, and sorry am I the sequel confirmed it.

Overwhelmed with the dilemma I was brought into (quite innocently, and seemingly designedly), I came to the very desperate though unavoidable resolution of swimming my whole drift of horses over the neck of water; in the execution of which perilous method four of the horses were unluckily lost by drowning, in sight of the whole army, many of whom very much condemned the dangerous expedient that I was forced to take. And such of the officers as were my real friends had occasion soon thereafter, with much reason, to

regret that accident the more, that I was considered liable for the damage so far as to be obliged to replace two of the lost horses by giving a choice pair of my own best horses, which pair I could have readily sold for forty-eight pounds currency, yet never received the smallest part of payment or other compensation, nor know I where to apply for any redress but from Government.

My having so judiciously conducted and executed this hazardous expedition with these horses, induced the Generals Phillips and Burgoyne soon to send for me, and having obeyed their hurried call, they again earnestly requested that I should then take a special connection with the army, so far as to subject me to military orders, entitle me to certain regular handsome pay,—especially as they would that of all the men under their command, I allenarly should return incontinently to St. John's, Canada, to take charge of conducting up some of his Majesty's horses there wanted for immediate urgent service; adding, as usual, the most express assurances and promises of my being handsomely rewarded, at all events, for performing the business now in agitation, which they requested I would go about. I answered them, with all diffidence, that I did not wish to enter into any military duty, preferring rather that I should continue in my present independence, and have perfect disposal of my time for purposes of bringing up my family from Canada or my settling there, as I chose; so as I might enjoy a quiet life in peace, and be my own master.

Then were such entreaties, promises, and persuasions poured upon me, that I suffered all my objections to be overruled; and my difficulties were in some measure then removed by my getting an order instantly from Colonel Carleton to the acting quartermaster-general at St. John's, to furnish me a batteaux and hands for the special purpose

of carrying my family and effects to Crownpoint. In full confidence of these promises and considerations, and my foolishly trusting to many stipulations that never were in any part performed, I was then and there persuaded to receive orders, and immediately proceed with all despatch to St. John's, Canada, to take charge of and bring up the king's horses, now wanted. I set off, and upon my arrival there I received written instructions (yet in my possession), dated St. John's, 5th July, 1777, from Nathaniel Day, Esq., commissary of horses (in which orders I am designed "John M'Alpine, assistant commissary of horse"), which in all equity founds me a just claim to the pay of ten shillings and sixpence sterling per day, from at least that period till I was released on cartel at New York. By Mr. Day's instructions foresaid, I was then appointed to take charge of two hundred of his Majesty's horses, for the purpose of conducting them to the royal army at Crownpoint or Ticonderoga. The horses being accordingly put under my care, I observed, at surveying them, that several were unfit for the present intended service according to my comprehensions, and therefore I peremptorily refused to receive any horses that I deemed improper; but at same time I drafted and received such cattle as I judged sound and suitable to the labour in view, and these numbered only 195 head in the whole. I was sensible that Major Hughs, contractor for horses, was chagrined by turning so many unsound horses on his hands; but I made conscience of my duty, and the confidence put in me by my employers; never putting my promised pay, douceurs, in comparison with my own honour and my hearty regard to our public service. Having mustered my party of men drivers and these 195 picked horses, I set out, ordering necessary batteaux to proceed with suitable provender and provisions, and fixing upon certain appointed

places of rendezvous for our meeting in the evenings to refresh both men and cattle. In this manner did I pursue a most disagreeable journey of many days, continued for above 150 miles of unbeaten roads—through mountains, woods and swamps, rivers, brooks, and lakes—till I arrived in safety at Ticonderoga, with the insignificant loss of one horse only, which perished in the woods through hurt, fatigue, and sickness in course of so very troublesome and tedious an expedition. It was universally acknowledged that such a successful march, under so many difficulties, had never been accomplished in the course we travelled; nay, the detachment that went in a road nearly similar, some little time before me, and with some such number of horses, lost outright above thirty drove, besides many were hurt.

At Ticonderoga I met with the Major Hughs I had formerly offended by rejecting so many unsound horses at St. John's, who now approved of my fidelity and conduct in the matter, and publicly declared that I had successfully accomplished a difficult piece of service, before then thought impracticable, which had saved Government five hundred pounds sterling, and deserved particular notice and reward; at same time solicited my going into his own department, and offered me ten shillings and sixpence per day during all the war, or our reaching Albany, which of them I preferred. And on that head he addressed General Phillips, craving my liberty immediately; to which General Phillips answered, that if I deserved from him, Major Hughs, or any other man whatsoever, I must be equally valuable to them in Government service, which could not dispense with my attendance in certain points; and therefore in place of his parting with me on any account, I must certainly remain in my present state of attendance on the army, subordinate to the private confidential orders of the generals allenarly.

Should it not be a determined argument, when all the preceding circumstances recollectively considered : that since General Phillips prevented my embracing Major Hughs' particular service and pay, I have consequently an indubitable claim to ten shillings and sixpence per day since the era of my being sent to Canada till some time in May, 1778, that I was detached from military employment? Yes, I ought, and I hope will be allowed it by Government ; together with the full amount of my account of charge, herewith given in, for all my disbursements, expenses, and losses incurred by and consequent of my public services and unshaken loyalty, all yet unrewarded ; and I must, with all due submission, observe to my readers, that however patriotism may animate men to glorious achievements, it cannot be denied emoluments will ever influence the best actions of mankind. Why, then, not allow me such retrospective views, in common with the world at large ?

Our royal army then marching away from Ticonderoga for Lake George, our people in hospital were in great want of fresh provisions. In this season of difficulty I was thought of and applied to, requesting I would undertake to go in search of some supply to these needy objects. As usual I consented, and was detached with a party of fifty-two men up Olive Creek to the New England country, with written orders from General Phillips to purchase live cattle for provisions to our sick men, and duly pay full value therefor. In consequence I bought forty head of beef cattle, with which I returned, and delivered them as directed to our commissary at Ticonderoga, who ungracefully refused to pay the values that I had contracted for until sufficient evidence was given him of the loyalty of the persons I had bargained with, which I well knew could not be obtained, as to my own knowledge many of them were heartily disaffected. In

this dilemma—my honour engaged for the people's payment, their delegate at my heels to receive their money, and Mr. Phillips' special order to be produced for the purchases I had made—I had no remedy but directly apply to General Hamilton (then commandant there), who immediately accompanied me to the ungenerous commissary's office, ordering him at his peril to pay down instantly every penny I had engaged for, conform to my account of purchases given in. The commissary was thus ordered to pay up the values; but in doing it he detained me so long unnecessarily, that I was entangled in a new plague and much loss to myself.

For, having that day (4th August, 1777), received General Hamilton's orders to carry some number of our prisoners from Ticonderoga to Crownpoint, in order to make hay there for foraging the horses of our army, I accordingly entered upon that discharge of duty with my usual alacrity, and collected a necessary squad of our prisoners into a batteaux prepared for our expedition, being furnished with provisions suitable for our purpose, and putting some effects and baggage of value of my own on board. Everything thus adjusted for our voyage, I went about getting the value aforesaid of the cattle paid to the man in waiting for it; in execution of which business I was so long detained by the commissary that our prisoners, finding themselves so snugly boated, took the opportunity of my absence to push off with the batteaux and make for the New England side of the lake, thus effecting their escape, possessed of our batteaux, stores, and thirty pounds worth of my property.

Disappointed in this manner of my hay workers, etc., I again applied to General Hamilton, who directed me on the same service formerly ordered, with instructions to employ the people at Crownpoint and its environs to execute the

labour of hay-making, at the current rate for such work, and pay their wages. This trust I attended and executed, drawing provisions and liquor from the garrison stores for supplying our workers, and finally paying the labourers' wages out of my own pocket, amounting to the sum of thirteen pounds eleven shillings currency, of which sum I have never been reimbursed in any part, and therefore include it in my charge against Government.

From Crownpoint I returned to Ticonderoga, where I was employed in transporting provisions by batteaux for our army to Lake George; which necessary work being accomplished, I was then ordered by General Powell to proceed directly to our army under General Burgoyne, who had by that time advanced to Fort Miller, upon Stillwater, and attend orders. Then I set off, and at my arrival there I fell in with Major Hughs, formerly mentioned, who repeated the offers he had made me before, enjoining my personal application to the general for being perfectly detached to the major's proper department. This was done; and after those in superior command had for some days digested the matter, and thought that perhaps I might be more useful in the major's employ than with the army at large, General Phillips hinted that it had been concerted to adjourn me (for one month only in way of trial) to Major Hughs' particular department, and I was at liberty to accept his offers, which I did, receiving his approbation, and my full pay according to his promise. As soon as that month's separate employment was ended, I gave pointed attendance upon the army, and obedience to my superior's orders in whatever way or branch was recommended to me; being always detached upon the necessary duty of foraging, and with scouting parties particularly, for which special service I was thought to be always the most properly adapted, there-

fore was as certainly appointed, because my acquaintance in that country and my allowed activity in expeditions promised the greatest hopes of success. In this manner I continued to be constantly employed till the propitious 19th September, 1777, that the royal army successfully attacked the Americans at Freeman's Farms, where and in which action I have the vanity to say with some truth that my conduct and behaviour was taken as much notice of as any private man in the service, for which I am convinced I can get the testimony of several officers of reputation then on the field, particularly from the gallant Captain Twiss, who conducted as chief engineer, and will acknowledge that his endeavours were much facilitated by my alertly bringing up two cannon where he ordered them, and in the critical moment of his effecting a very desirous manœuvre, in the execution of which exploit I was in danger, yet I relieved and brought off a wounded soldier, and gave Captain Twiss my horse in the action.

From that day I continued with the army rendering every service in my power, and conforming my conduct to the commands laid upon me, night and day, till the beginning of October thereafter, that I heard with jealousy and regret General Burgoyne had employed a certain man from Stillwater, named Jones (and who was notoriously attached to the rebels formerly), to go as confidential express on some very private message to Ticonderoga for a reward of five hundred guineas, as was said. I must own this intelligence much disgusted me, from a suspicion that my integrity and attachment were somehow overlooked or suspected, where the general had so far displayed his diffidence of me as to employ a rebel upon an important secret errand that I was deemed unworthy of being entrusted with; the more especially that it was well known I had all along sacrificed my

private interest, and very often endangered my life to promote our public services of every kind committed to me. In short, my feelings were so smart and my delicacies so much hurt, that I determined to withdraw from attendance and retire to my old rural habitation, poor as it was, which I mentioned to some officers of most intimate acquaintance, with loud complaints of the injurious treatment given me by the commander-in-chief, which I could not digest ; and in this flight of resentment I applied to Sir Francis Clark, one of the aide-de-camps, for my pass homewards. In a few days Sir Francis gave me a pass, but upon the express condition that I would faithfully return to the army as soon as my family could be removed to Canada, or put under General Powell's protection at Ticonderoga, which obligation I pointedly acquiesced in.

The following evening an orderly sergeant was sent me, ordering my immediate attendance upon General Burgoyne, which message I obeyed with the more alacrity that I persuaded myself, now in the moment of my departure, was the acceptable time of my receiving, if not full payment for my attendance upon the army, at least some handsome consideration or allowance for my long, faithful, and hazardous services, as I never yet received a shilling of pay or public money. But how great was my disappointment when, in place of any reward or even bare mention of it, I found a very cold, indifferent reception from General Burgoyne, who asked me if I was seriously going to leave him at this critical time of danger, when he had so much confidence in me, depending upon my loyal exertions and every due sense of my essential service to the royal cause.

My answer gave him to know that I had come to the resolution of returning now to my family, long distressed in my absence, and in the greatest need of my best offices ;

nor could I see any inducement for my dangling longer about him, as he had never given me any pay or gratification for my great trouble, loss and attendance. That in place of finding him disposed to perform his promises to me, I had unexpectedly discovered that he had apparently lost all faith and dependence on my honour and best endeavours, when he would employ a rebel or suspected person to go confidentially upon the late private errand or particular message to Ticonderoga, a confidence that should of right be committed to my often-experienced, well-proved integrity. Being so exceedingly affected with that glaring instance of his disrespect for and diffidence in me, I was finally resolved to bid him then farewell; for which I hoped he would excuse me, and I was sure the world could not justly blame me. He passionately then turned upon me, saying vehemently, that I might depend on it I had forever forfeited his recommendations, liberality, and friendship; and he had rather that I had joined the rebels than have deserted him in the present critical juncture. I must own I was put into some agitation by the tenor of our whole conversation, and the disrespectful usage given me causelessly; which occasioned my replying, in displeasure, that were I inclined to connect myself with the rebel Americans, I had many favourable opportunities and interesting offers before that day, and was quite certain they would still give me a welcome reception; but my principles were as loyal, and my heart as true to my gracious Sovereign and his cause, as any other man in the British service; withal I was independent of General Burgoyne, and the rebels too, and could find myself agreeable employment without serving either of them; nor would I for one day longer. But in the present time I wished it were duly considered that I had seriously injured my health in running every hazard and taking constant fatigues; had very

much hurt my family by neglecting them, and quite ruined my subject by attending him so incessantly upon the public service ; and trusting to his promises never performed, without being ever favoured with a penny of pay, or any other the smallest compensation for my time, trouble, or expense ; and now I hoped for some adequate consideration. Finding that my hints seemed not to be understood, nor any regard to my complaints, I instantly withdrew, both parties much displeased, particularly me.

That evening I dedicated to taking a public farewell of my good friend Major Hughs, Captain Twiss, and other officers (distinguished wellwishers), who, being made acquainted of my conversation with, and the neglect shown me by General Burgoyne, they perfectly disapproved of the usage given me, and were pleased to regret my parting with the army, insisting strongly that I should not detach myself entirely from the service, but only retire so far as Ticonderoga, and employ myself there collecting every species of forage, and forwarding everything possible for the supplies of the troops. Repeating all my grievances, I declared to my esteemed friends that I would decamp for good, let General Burgoyne find another when and where he best could ; and accordingly I set off from camp very late at night, and passed the rivers twice by swimming my horse in the dark, for despatch and secrecy, to avoid being intercepted by the rebels.

By five o'clock next morning I got to Fort George, having rode above thirty-four miles in less than five hours. I here waited on the commanding officer, and informed him of what had passed with Mr. Burgoyne and my intention now ; upon which he ordered a batteaux for conveying me to Diamond Island, in the possession of our troops, under command of Captain Arberry of the forty-seventh regiment ; who also being made acquainted with my grievances and

resolutions, he ordered me another batteaux to Ticonderoga. There I waited on General Powell, giving him a full detail of all my manœuvres, which he tenderly expressed a feeling concern at, and used all arguments to dissuade me from withdrawing entirely; but in place of leaving the service and then going home, I should remain with himself, occasionally employed in some duty, until I went upon the very first special errand back to General Burgoyne, which might make up all matters, and he would take particular interest and pleasure in getting all justice done me.

Though I attended with due regard to this good man's proposals, it then occurred to me, and I mentioned it to him, that should I be employed upon any such confidential message, and have the misfortune of being made prisoner on such perilous occasions, the most violent severities from the rebels might be my fate, and perhaps General Burgoyne's resentment might lead him to the cruel conjecture of my having designedly thrown myself in the enemy's power. In short, I disavowed any confidence in Mr. Burgoyne's sentiments, friendships, or operations; and thanking Mr. Powell for his overtures, I set off homeward that day.

I had been only a few days consoling my family at home, when one express, and then a second came with the utmost hurry and confusion to my house, requesting my immediate attendance on General Powell at Ticonderoga, for everything was lost. Sure enough I repaired to him with all speed, and there unhappily learned that General Burgoyne and our fine little army had been fatally made prisoners at Saratoga.

I cannot pretend to say, professionally, that there was any misconduct in that disaster. But to speak from opinions, I had not too sanguine hopes of their procedure, surrounded by numerous enemies in one extensive disaffected country very little known to our adventurers, who had not the support

they expected nor the encouragement they were entitled to, and what in fact they merited. At same time I was always afraid that over much trust was put in men who misled or betrayed our people, while our commanders distrusted and despised their loyal adherents and substantial friends.

Being thus got again to Ticonderoga, in General Powell's confidence, he told me that on these trying occasions my best offices, attention, and essential services were more requisite than ever; and that without my incessant exertions he despaired that he or his party could expect the necessary operations of transporting boats, provisions, stores, and others from Lake George, seeing our army's horses and carriages had been all recently dispersed and destroyed by our enemies. I replied, with deference, that I had all along heartily complied with and happily executed all the orders I was honoured with by my superior, and upon this occasion I would cheerfully contribute my utmost power of exertion for his Majesty's service and the salvation of his property; but at this crisis I was sensible of intervening difficulties, that seemed insurmountable in spite of my utmost application, yet I would adventure my life upon the success, though I would wish to be excused from undertaking matters that had the appearance of impossibilities. General Powell—always pleasant, though now in great perplexity and seeming despair—persevering in entreaties, I laid aside all view to my own interest and concerns at home, sacrificing these and my personal safety to his Majesty's important urgent services, and resolutely set about performing them; which, by unwearied attention and perseverance, I got effected (in full) much sooner than my most flattering hopes suggested, though attended with unremitting personal fatigues in the expedition, of which operations I contributed seventy days' work of my own yoke, man servant, four oxen, chains, and

other requisites, for which Mr. Powell was to have paid a dollar per day. That I now charge to Government, because I received no compensation then through our hurry and confusion; and my own captivity, immediately consequent, prevented my ever meeting Mr. Powell to have his promise implemented. It would be ungenerous not to mention here, that in performing the complicated operations of this troublesome service I was much assisted by the unwearied endeavours of worthy Captain Twiss; who, being relieved from Albany, seemed rejoiced to find me here employed upon so trying an occasion, and contributed more than fell to one officer's share in the work of the time. By the cheerful, active perseverance of all our united efforts, we perfected conveyance of all our stores, etc., from Lake George to Ticonderoga, where our troops were incessantly busied, under one active commander, in preparations to evacuate that fortress and return to Canada.

In these circumstances of our flight from the approaching American army, I must do General Powell the justice to acknowledge that he paid so much regard to my particular interest as to order my family and effects should be taken due care of, and transported to Canada under escort of our detachment; that whatever should be left of my property, by my attendance upon the public service, would unquestionably be made good to me when charged for; and that I would accept the trust of seeing everything completed at Ticonderoga, and be the last man to depart from that post when evacuated, which obligation I came under and actually perfected, though not yet paid for it.

In faithful compliance with my promises to General Powell, and in strict obedience to his confidential orders to me at our parting, I patiently waited to have every necessary operation completed in the manner he directed

at Ticonderoga; which being effectually performed, I then set off with our last party of about sixty men to carry the king's remaining horses through the woods and mountains to Canada, having my servants and the poor remains of my cattle stock in the cavalcade, and my family, with the residue of my portable effects and furniture, sent in company with our provisions and forage, in our batteaux.

In this manner I proceeded for some days unmolested towards Canada; and having surmounted the greatest part of the difficulties occasioned by woods and mountains, etc., in one unfrequented course of road, perhaps never attempted but by native Indians, I got all safe to that tract of land called Gilliland's Patent, where I considered myself out of all danger of pursuit or surprise; but then and there were I and my party overtaken quite unarmed, and captured by a detachment of fifty chosen, well-armed men from the American army, who had found means of crossing over the lake (to expedite their pursuit), and approached us the more suddenly. Having instantaneously manned their boats, they pursued and captured our batteaux, making us all prisoners, with all our provision and provender, and my remaining stores, cattle, effects of furniture, clothing, etc., of every denomination. In this forlorn condition we were all carried back to a certain place called the Red House, within nine miles of my former habitation, and there they divided among them every particular of cattle, horses, effects, etc. (my part of that capture being the residue of all my worldly effects, and of considerable value), without leaving me ought but the clothes that were on me and my wife's back, and even my child of only four years of age. The inhuman plunderers having completed this cruel scene, they allowed the Canadians of my party to return home, and to carry along with them my wife and child, giving the whole company only the

scanty allowance of two days' provisions to support them all in a long expedition of six days' navigation, in that very late, inclement season of the year. My natural feelings were easier conceived than expressed on this melancholy occasion: stripped of every article of consideration but the clothing then upon me, and deprived of my disconsolate wife and only surviving child, perhaps never to meet again, as indeed we did not for a long time afterwards.

In this wretched plight was I and my miserable little loyal party hurried and dragged along, to be thrown into some dungeon (as was threatened), attended by a strong armed guard, who unpitied impetuously drove us like beasts, through frost and snow, poorly fed and as ill lodged, destitute of money, friends, or acquaintances; nor would these wretches allow me to ride one of my own horses, of which they captured then eight of the best in that country, with four fine oxen, all my cows, young cattle, other stock, and valuable effects to some considerable amount, as will appear in my annexed account thereof.

We were informed we had three hundred miles to travel through in this disconsolate way to the gaol of Hartford, the first hundred miles of which tormenting journey we finished by arriving at Bennington, where I was some days confined in the guard house, kept at very scrimp allowance, without bed or bedding, or any ease or rest but what I could get in my big coat and torn boots, stretched on a plank of wood that just exalted me high enough to escape the reach of innumerable tribes of vermin that paraded the floor of that offensive sty; my poor party being thrown into the common gaol like malefactors. With some sort of insulting form, I was here brought before a kind of council, who, after examining and there threatening me, made offers of my release, with restitution of all my property in land, cattle,

and other effects, with some Tory's farm in perpetuity, if I would now at last heartily join in their favourite cause and renounce my allegiance; reminding me that they were no strangers to the mischiefs M'Alpine had done them, and the active part I had all along taken against their independence by my services to the Tory armies in respect of provisions, information, etc., etc., all which conjoined misdemeanours had rendered me obnoxious and liable to punishment, even death; or through their innate clemency my life would be spared, and I permitted to see New York upon cartel, I was not to hope for a General Carleton there to patronise me, as he did heretofore, which last prediction I found fatally true in the event. Having resolutely withstood all their repeated threats and solicitations to seduce me from my allegiance, I was turned out with great indignation, and desired to prepare for a long march to Hartford Prison, hell, or somewhere. Accordingly I was fitting myself for bidding an eternal farewell to Bennington and encouraging my disconsolate party (most of them Scots Highlanders), who nobly resisted every temptation thrown in their way to desert me and the royal cause, notwithstanding they were half-naked, and barefooted travelling on snow and ice. At the very time of leaving Bennington I was much nonplussed by the misbehaviour of one American half-Dutchman of my party, who (averse to tread the snow if he could save his feet) took occasion of then kidnapping an American officer's horse, just equipped for journey, and rode away full speed over the country. Of him I heard no more. Upon my coming to the town end I opened the door of a house, enquiring if I could get a horse to hire for some miles to overtake the party. No sooner had I appeared and spoken than I was known to be an enemy, and was roughly answered by a coarse Yankee virago, "Turn out of my house, ye Tory

captain son of a b——h. Your man stole our captain's horse just now; get out, you Tory." Thus rebuffed, I was glad to waddle along after my party and their guard, whom I soon overtook, attended by a multitudinous party insulting them; who insulted me by asking sneeringly, "Tory captain, will you sell your drove of cannibals," meaning my poor fellow-prisoners, half-clad, half-dead, and in a truly tatterdemalion condition.

Prosecuting this woful journey, we at the end of many days reached Hartford, where my poor loyal party (called Tories at all hands) were thrown into the common gaol; but I was admitted to some liberty, on my parole, purely through the influence of the officer who commanded our marching guard. Next day I happily met with my old acquaintance, Captain Monie of the 9th Regiment, who was formerly quarter-master in Burgoyne's army, but now a prisoner here. He, being no stranger to both my services and sufferings in the royal cause, generously spared me a little money, which, with some benefactions from loyalists at Hartford, enabled me to live in some decency.

Captain Monie persevering in repeated acts of friendship, which I shall always remember gratefully, strenuously applied to the rebel commissary for prisoners, informing him I was of some esteem with certain people; and if he had any friend at New York whom he wished to be liberated preferably upon an equal exchange now was his time of effecting it, by granting me one month's parole to New York for bringing such an exchange to conclusion. I think it was about the middle of December that this pass was given me, when, being furnished with some kind recommendations from Captain Monie to Lord Radon (who befriended me), to Colonel Sherrif, etc., I set out for New York full of hopes, and in my way picked up a neglected grenadier—clever

young fellow—whose exigencies, I believe, had put him under difficulties. Him I refreshed out of my pittance, and brought along to the city of New York. Here I met with and applied to several acquainted officers, who well knew some merit in my long and much-neglected services to the public, reasonably guessed at my poverty, and were informed now of the manner in which my liberty was so far obtained. To their praise be it here acknowledged, that many of these gentlemen's pockets were open to my necessary calls as often as delicacy allowed; and they so assiduously exerted their applications to General Clinton, then commandant at New York, after removing some objections, I obtained an order of exchange just two days before the time of my parole would be expired. My arrival and exchange at New York being thus effected, I detached every consideration of further connections with the British service, or ever entering into permanent military orders, if any field of action in private life should occur to me with tempting inducements. And I conclude my campaigning, etc., with observing that I have narrated these adventures with unviolated honour and truth; and that every particular of my public orders, and exertions relative thereto, could have been authentically documented and produced in support of my complicated details, had not my most material papers (in common with my other effects) been so repeatedly seized and abstracted by the Americans when they had me in their clutches; indeed some of my authorities have been recovered, more are yet expected, and all will be cheerfully submitted for examination.

My liberty from all confinement of every kind being thus happily accomplished at New York, and the season of the year not affording the occasion of any ship to Canada (where I very much desired to go in quest of my wife and

only child, whom I had not seen for a very long time), I remained some months at New York quite disengaged from any business, public or private; in the course of which period I made some approaches toward my being more known, but found no inviting hopes from the general that would induce me to use some freedoms I occasionally stood in need of, therefore I avoided the imputation of being thought too troublesome.

My little cash being exhausted, I was put under the disagreeable necessity of addressing some particular friends for immediate supplies; but, humane as they were, I was ashamed of repeating these applications. Thoroughly weary of an inactive life, I finally resolved to push into some business or employment, and with that intention I communicated my purpose (with friendly freedom) to my very good acquaintance, Captain Anstruther of the 26th Regiment, who commanded at Crownpoint when I first went to it, anno 1773. With his accustomed generosity, he instantly assured me of all the interest in his power (fairly indeed exhibited by his former unwearied applications for my exchange). By this worthy man I was introduced to the acquaintance of Colonel Clark, barrack-master general, who promised me his friendship when an opportunity offered. But no vacant berth being then in view, Colonel Clark recommended me to Francis Green, Esq., from Boston, then agent upon the estate of Henry Loyd, Esq., on Long Island, who was in agitation of a contract with Colonel Clark for furnishing fuel from that estate to supply the troops in barracks at New York.

I was admitted to all the intimacy that could be reasonably expected so soon by this Mr. Green, who on all occasions was pleased to put confidence in me, and sensibly felt my calamities, by the injuries he had experienced in the course

of the present contention for American independence. And with a heart full of gratitude, I pay Mr. Green the thankful tribute of acknowledging that he has all along continued in the same warm disposition towards me—invariable in his friendships, and unremitting in his virtuous, kind offices.

In consequence of Mr. Green's uncommon offices and singular attachment to me, I was greatly encouraged to adventure a further connection with him. Accordingly I entered into three separate contracts of agreement—dated the 24th April, 1st June, and 26th November, all in the year 1778—for a certain farm, with all its produce, upon Long Island; conform to the condition specially narrated in these several articles of agreement, yet extant in my hands, to which reference is here made for particulars, being the more especially attached to that identical portion of land that the most express protections had been granted by Generals Howe and Clinton to the estate and its relatives, which were considered the most ample ever issued for any American loyalist's property.

To that estate upon Long Island I removed, and lived in the family way a most contented, quiet, and easy life for several months, turning every produce to utmost advantage in so close a vicinity to the good market of New York, and having no interruption to my local happiness but the alarms I might be occasionally under of some rebel depredations from the opposite shore of Connecticut. My esteemed friend, Francis Green, Esq., having his said constituents' authority and interests always in view, persisted in the scheme of supplying Colonel Clark, upon contract, with any quantity of fuel or firewood which might be thought requisite for the troops in barracks at New York; and having confidentially intimated his purpose to me, I approved the plan, and directly set on and continued a number of hands in

constant employ cutting and preparing that fuel to serve the barrack consumption, which I was bound to deliver free at New York at the fixed price of four pounds currency per cord, in terms of an accomplished contract, at which rate I could and would undertake to furnish any quantity of fuel that the troops could possibly need or should consume while in barracks, which I am positively certain would be a saving to Government of several thousand pounds annually, which are wantonly, or through ignorance of circumstances, unnecessarily thrown away to jobbers or Government contractors in the army.

This declared fact in the misconduct of that particular (I mean barrack) department I can with ease make perfectly evident if I am called upon, as I earnestly desire I may be, to support this assertion, now candidly disclosed for our national advantage; and I anxiously desire that my explanation may be taken openly before the House of Commons, to make them and the nation sensible of the material difference betwixt the extravagant price charged in sterling money by army contractors for barrack fuel and the small allowance these last men made us of only four pound currency per cord at New York. Yet I at same time admit that this value or price is so equal to both parties, that if I am honoured with the employment of furnishing our troops with fuel in New York barracks (or any such similar institution in America) upon Government account, and receiving quick regular payments, I will instantly undertake to supply to any extent at four pound the cord of such wood, and find gentlemen of unexceptionable character and good fortune who will directly engage by contract for my due performance, not only in the necessary supplies of next winter (1780), but as many subsequent seasons as this unhappy war continues, or our troops may remain in America, under any other appointment of

the British legislature. So much hinted for public savings in this time of our need, I return to my story respecting the firewood.

In consequence of Mr. Green's scheme of supply to Colonel Clark, one thousand measured cords of fuel were sent by me to New York ; but when it was received there in the barrack-master's department, in my absence they fell on sinister means (though plausible) of reducing that cargo to only eight hundred cords of their cart measurement, which defalcation was so large and glaring that some imposition or deceit must be intended and effected. Mr. Green being justly alarmed, wrote me of the unaccountable lack in that cargo, and requested my explanation of the difference in contents, or any plausible reason for it.

Here I thought a daring push had been made at my honour by some person in the dark, as might be said ; for, being recommended as an honest man by my good friend Colonel Clark, and by him to my patron Mr. Green, I considered my reputation much engaged or attacked by this perplexity, and was determined at all events to clear my character of the least participation in irregularities. With that resolution I went to New York to wait on Mr. Green, and arrived there at the very time another of my wood vessels was discharging her cargo. The master of that wood vessel immediately complained loudly of the impositions used by the barrack department at receiving the fuel, occasioned by the iniquitous largeness of their carts ; which in their contents, and the unfair method of cramming in the wood at stowing, very far exceeded the allowed measurement or contents of city regulation.

I soon comprehended what the man meant ; but to obtain a thorough knowledge of these circumstances of deception, I took the occasion offering while the carters stopped work

to take dinner, to measure out a full statute cord of wood upon the wharf in the presence of several masters of vessels then alongside, whom I called to be witnesses to my regular procedure, and then ordered that measured cord of wood to be thrown down on the wharf carelessly, as if tossed fairly out of my vessel upon this wharf. I remained by the wood to see how these barrack carters would then load their carriages and my experiment would answer the intention, I knowing well that the statute cord should exactly correspond with four statute cart loads; whereas in the unjust manner these barrack jobbing carters were directed by Colonel Clark's people to fill up, cram, and load their carts (and actually did load), they forced, stowed, and packed the regular statute cord of wood into three carts only, and still called for more fuel to heap out and make up such loads as they were desired to take on. Here the cloven foot at once appeared, and thus they injuriously overloaded a full fourth part above statute measure; which was a certain conviction to me and all the spectators of the manner and cause that the two hundred cords of fuel had been lost in the former cargo, villainously swallowed up, and not accounted for as it justly ought.

I instantly stopped the carts, called for skippers and masters of coal-yards, and sent for some of Colonel Clark's assistants and servants, to inform them of what had passed both as to the proven measurement and fraudulent discovery; certifying to them publicly that I would never deliver them more fuel in that barrack department, nor have anything to do with people of such deceitful methods and injurious principles. And by this discovery was the seed of their resentment sown against me and continued.

Mr. Green was soon informed of this open detection, and as easily convinced of its certainty; yet, from a hearty desire

to promote the public utility, he still offered to contract with Colonel Clark for any quantity of fuel he required, delivered various landing or shipping places that were on the estate of Loyd's Neck, in Long Island, if Mr. Clark would appoint any inspector to superintend the measurements; but he positively would no further engage for any more deliveries of cargoes at New York wharves.

This equitable proposal was rejected by Colonel Clark and his deputies, who in that open and fair way could not amass gain enough, much less could they buy commissions by fraudulent practices; therefore they rejected Mr. Green's upright proffer, and renounced the contract. Colonel Clark having thus broken up dealing, by advice of his deputies I daresay, Mr. Green betook himself to the expedient of selling the wood of Mr. Loyd's estate to private purchasers, but still with this restriction, that a preference of sale should be always given Colonel Clark (upon equal terms) for supplying the troops, and to this special obligation all the purchasers frankly concurred, of which number I was a principal one.

In virtue of these transactions, I and some other purchasers or contractors set about felling and preparing the fuel wood; but we had no sooner got some quantity in readiness for market than some of Colonel Clark's myrmidons laid hold on it, and forcibly discharging our people at their peril to remove any part of it from the premises, and thus at once put a stop to all the contracts Mr. Green had made, all on the false pretence that the whole fuel was wanted for barrack use, which was well known not to be the real cause.

To support the fact of this incontestable assertion, I affirm, and can prove, that for the space of eight months from the time they forcibly interrupted my particular work and down to the middle of December last (1779), Mr.

Clark's men had not cut one single cord of wood that I contracted for, though they uniformly interrupted me and took the work out of my hands; for which identical bargain I would have paid the proprietor one thousand pounds which sum he has been deprived of since, as I am of considerable profits that would result therefrom at the stated price. If it should be objected here, that there was not sufficiency of wood upon my neighbouring rebel estates to supply our troops in the barracks, I deny the allegation, and can freely make oath that I publicly offered, and would cheerfully have paid two thousand pounds for one year's liberty of the woods and lands of these two identical rebel estates, that Colonel Clark got somehow into his clutches, and which I am confident has put several thousands of pounds slump gratis into the pockets of Colonel Clark and his deputies, as many thousands have gone, futilely, which they have bilked the public of. And happy will I be, if called upon regularly, to make my assertion good; because my open averment of these circumstances is with the avowed intention of making the horrid fraudulent practices of the barrack department (in the matter of fuel for the troops) known to the whole world, and particularly doing justice to our injured nation.

This unprecedented interruption from Colonel Clark and his demagogues put a perfect stop to all our wood manufacture upon a loyal estate under repeated protections; but very particularly hurt my interest, who had set a number of good hands to work, cut a large quantity of wood, and bought six teams for my own employment, which, in view of doing business in due season, I had kept through the long winter at some considerable expense.

These all being then thrown idle, I offered their services to Colonel Clark's men at the common rate of hire of the

country ; but, in addition to my distresses, they rejected all concern with me, my people, or cattle, though at same time they enlarged their gains by impressing poor people's teams, and taking their own services too at very insignificant rates, in the name of Government service. Being soon after in want of drivers, through their under payments, the consequence was they effected little or no team work the chief part of summer, and of course the garrison had only a few days' fuel in store at the fall of the year, and withal the city was so ill provided that, for their general supply, I ordered up some vessel loads of wood and fuel to New York.

Two of these wood-loaded vessels were overtaken and captured in the sound or passage by some Connecticut rebel plunderers after they had nearly approached to New York, where I was upon my hearing of these disastrous captures. I directly went in quest of and bought two small guns of two pound shot, the one of which I had placed in the stern of my boat upon a slide carriage upon the platform, the other I got fixed on the clutch of a tree and two waggon-wheels to it ; and having then given a call to a few brave, confident refugees, and informed them of my intention, I asked if they would boldly venture upon such an expedition. They answering affirmatively, about fifty resolute fine fellows instantly turned out volunteers ; and away we set that night, convoyed over the sound by a wood sloop of four guns, and attended by several whale boats to land our men when necessary. Proceeding about six miles in this manner we approached the opposite shore, and by daybreak landed at Greenwich, in Connecticut, with only thirty-three of our party, leaving behind the rest of our men to guard our boats and secure our retreat should we be repulsed.

Having reconnoitered and paraded the shore and country for the distance of full three miles round our landing place,

we met with very insignificant opposition. By this time I became quite weary walking and running about from one eminence to another in taking proper observations (a duty that became very necessary, and was incumbent on me particularly, as I acted as sole commandant), which induced me to lay hands on the very first horse that fell in my way ; and putting the strap of my cartouch box in the brute's mouth for directing bridle, I rode about bare-backed, giving my most judicious orders, until we approached a rebel posse or guard who seemed disposed to interrupt us. These we instantly attacked with spirit, and soon broke and dispersed the main body, making eight of their number prisoners, one of whom I peremptorily ordered away to fetch me a saddle and bridle, which he soon performed. We then marched on boldly to surround and capture some horses and cattle that appeared in view at a little distance about some habitations. At this little village some greedy men of my party (in imitation of the enemy's marauders) displayed an unworthy disposition to mean plundering and depredations, and shamefully went the length of taking clothing, etc., from some defenceless females (in contradiction to my express orders), which I peremptorily caused them to restore in full ; commanding only to capture all the fighting men, arms, ammunition, cattle, and horses that came in our power. Soon thereafter we fell in with and attacked a second rebel party, whom we soon beat off the field, and captured thirteen men (one of whom was a villainous deluding priest), with several stand of good arms, some ammunition, and above one thousand pounds worth of fine cattle and horses which they guarded. This good prize we carried towards the shore where our body of reserves and boats lay in waiting. But in our long march downwards we were attacked violently by a stronger body of rebels, whom we desperately encountered ;

and after a smart engagement we drove them clear off the field with a sensible loss, that they never attempted to give us any further interruption in our carrying every article to our place of destination; so that we proceeded without meeting any strange face, except some women that followed us with a lamentable cry of compassion, to each of whom I gave a milch cow to nourish their children. Being arrived at the beach, my first essay was to survey my party and know how the men stood out so much firing. I was much surprised to find that all my brave fellows had escaped quite unhurt, and could not enough admire the favouring hand of providence towards myself, that acting as commanding officer and constantly running and riding to and again in all these encounters and skirmishes surrounded with bullets innumerable flying round me, I yet was never touched.

Having now obtained the shore with our prize of men prisoners, arms, ammunition, cattle, and horses, we set instantly about shipping the whole, which was a tedious, difficult, dangerous operation as we were circumstanced; for having only whale boats to transport the cattle on board our large vessel, we were under the unavoidable necessity of swimming and towing them away in drifts or parcels for a considerable distance, till we reached the large vessel adapted for taking them on board.

It may be presumed that this method of conveyance must take up a great deal of time, as in fact it did, and gave the enemy opportunity of assembling from all quarters, in numbers, to attempt a rescue of some part at least of their cattle. They judiciously improved the occasion of our very confused employment; and as soon as they thought themselves strong enough for the assault, they impetuously made one attack—about three hundred men strong, well armed—in full hopes

of defeating and destroying us. In the first encounter they found us too firm to be daunted or broke, so that in place of giving way to their very superior number (being above three hundred men to fifty only) we drove the cowardly dogs fairly beyond gunshot of our stationed ground, to which they never approached so nigh as to interrupt our manœuvres in taking off our prizes, so that we carried them wholly safe on board without any other injury than one of my men being shot through the arm, a wound of no great detriment to him and our cause.

Our expedition being now so far accomplished, we set off huzzaing, and got all safe to our own opposite shore of Long Island, and in triumph landed all our prizes, amidst the acclamations of our friends there; who, as well as the multitude upon the Connecticut side, had been spectators to our operations, but never thought that so pitiful a handful of men (though resolute) could oppose, much less vanquish such numbers of dastardly rebels, and carry away our captures, too, without losing a man of our party, and but only one man wounded.

Our prisoners, headed by their priest, we sent off to New York Jail, to lie there till exchanged for an equal number of poor worthy royalists, who might be suffering innocently, perhaps rotting in American dungeons. I then ranged for our division our bestial prizes of every denomination, and disposed of them equally among the brave fellows of my very deserving detachment, who had valiantly risked their lives in transacting one of the boldest enterprizes that had been attempted since the first commencement of our war with the Americans; an exploit which the multitude loudly applauded, and said no other than that desperate Highlandman, mad John M'Alpine, would have attempted or executed it.

Many such manœuvres would be planned, and could be executed by me and many other bold, resolute, well-meaning loyalists in America, were we only encouraged and allowed (though not assisted) to make due reprisals on our unrelenting enemies; and unquestionably we of that quarter of the world, who have suffered most and lost our all in the present contention for independence, are and must be the fittest people for such hazardous exploits as this, and under proper conductors would seldom fail of success. But by some fatality and distinction, the most deserving men are much discouraged and disrespectfully treated, while the inactive poltroons are in estimation, through interest or connection, to the perpetual detriment of our national cause and injury to the best of kings. But to return to my fuel narration.

During the transactions of this private adventure a false report had been industriously propagated by the barrack department and their minions of the prevailing scarcity of fuel for the troops in garrison, which occasioned a general intimation from the commander-in-chief ordering all persons immediately to cut down and bring in their firewood to New York, else it would be taken from them gratis. This forced public order gave the long wished for, much agitated opportunity to one Gilbert Wauch—a bankrupt baker formerly of Edinburgh, now the favourite deputy of Colonel Clark, barrack-master—of taking up all the fuel he could get his clutches on—no doubt at the easiest rates, if any price at all—which indulgent orders, the capture consequent to them, Wauch improved so effectually to his own private emolument that he was soon enabled to assume the rank of a pretended gentleman officer, and paid two thousand pounds for a company in the 57th regiment if memory serves me. Nor will this remark seem unaccountable when it is known, as now, that the fuel is taken at a price next to

nothing, though Government is charged at an extravagant rate. And had the people not been oppressed, or had they been punctually paid by the barrack department the stated prices allowed by the commander-in-chief, they would readily and cheerfully furnish all the fuel wanted for supplying both the army and city at the moderate rate of four pounds currency per cord, for doing which I and others would and will engage ; at same time, this honest method of procedure would have entirely prevented the general's forced severe order, which undoubtedly was occasioned by the oppressive manœuvres and continual bad payments of the barrack department.

In further execution of their unsocial schemes, this same adventurous Gilbert Wauch sent me a letter in June, 1779, informing me that he had Colonel Clark's directions to intimate to me formally that I was strictly prohibited from further pasturing any horses, cows, or other cattle on the estate of Mr. Loyd on Long Island, then under lease to me; nor on any authority increase my stock above the then number, as my whole land and pasture were wanted for the convenience of the barrack department. Perhaps on any occasion such an inconsistent demand would seem laughable, but at present was ridiculously presumptive, as I resided by lease upon part of Mr. Loyd's estate that stood under strict protection, and that I was notoriously known to be a proven loyal subject who suffered uncommon hardships and had lost my all in the present calamities. Besides, I was sheltered under the general's late proclamation of safety and encouragement to all loyal subjects for raising vegetables and other produce for the use of the troops, which certified to all discouragers of industry and promoters of any turbulence, that the contraveners of orders would be condignly punished.

To avail myself of this protection and encouragement from the general, I directly waited upon my superior, Mr. Green, informing him of the cause of my then visit ; and by his direction I next attended upon General Jones, then commandant at New York, both preferring my complaint and producing Wauch's letter to me that had occasioned it, together with a copy of my answer to Wauch relative thereto. One of the general's aide-de-camps told me, in presence of some gentlemen then attending, that Wauch certainly did not know what he was doing, for he was writing improperly and acting without authority, for no peaceable loyal subject or person was to be discouraged or disturbed in prosecuting industrious endeavours ; nor would any man be put wantonly under inconveniences, much less be excluded from local property, except where such steps were absolutely necessary for the public service, and in such events full value would be paid in compensation. I gave him to know that I was in the invariable practice of offering everything my land afforded and could be spared, even at an under value, to promote the utility, and intimated so much in writing to Colonel Clark, but my condescensions to that avaricious department seemed to have no discreet effect, nor would any condition content them but taking my whole, gratis, and at once disable me from supporting myself and family, which has since been evident. At parting from the general's lodging I met Gilbert Wauch, and told him I had presented his curious letter to me. With a kind of plausible grimace, he answered that my return had reached him, and he must own I was rigorously dealt by, but he acted by Colonel Clark's orders.

Some hours thereafter I was sent for in a hurry to Colonel Clark's, where I had no sooner come than I expatiated upon the many former injuries done me by him and his assistants

in his name, which was now meant to be enlarged with more severity by Wauch's late notice to me in writing; adding that I knew no cause given for his avowed resentment against me, who had always studied his interest so far as consistent with my honour, of which he had recent instances that he could not have so soon forgot. He stood convinced of all I advanced, and positively disavowed any intention of encroachment upon my property or injuring my interest in any way, in proof of all which he much pressed me to enter without delay into his employment, Mr. Wauch adding that "this will insure constant protection to you and your concerns." In answer, I observed that my loyal long services and sufferings had dearly bought my protection in any part of the British dominions, and I assured myself of its full enjoyment; and as to the proposals of attaching myself to his particular employ, I would not hesitate to accept the invitation upon reasonable conditions, namely, that I must obtain the approbation of my ever good friend, Mr. Green; that the reward of my services should be adequate to the measure of my employment; and that the extent of my concern in their department should be such as not to involve me in acts of severity, fraud, oppression, or other irregularities that might hurt my reputation or be disagreeable to said Mr. Green, on whom I particularly depended. Seeming to approve my remarks, and repeating assurances of friendship, they offered me a dollar per day.

Bad as times were, I told them such an offer was no temptation to me, with which, they seeming offended as much as I was, we parted equally displeased, and from that moment they industriously and avowedly plotted my ruin, as follows, viz. :—

Colonel Clark commenced these new oppressions by attempting to settle their men as if duly billeted upon my

house, and this by force without authority; not through the cause of necessity, but purely in malicious resentment. But I warded that designed blow, as two rebel houses fit for accommodating Clark's workmen were then standing unoccupied in my neighbourhood to which they might resort, which circumstance justified my making resistance, and I availed myself of it.

They then applied for a warrant from General Jones to billet their men regularly on me, in view of taking forcible possession of my house, buildings, forage, and other utensils without consulting me; on which the General sent orders to Colonel Ludlow, our commandant, to advert that the public service was not interrupted through my perverseness, as Gilbert Wauch reported. Mr. Ludlow made me a polite visit, I being then indisposed, showed me the general's order, and looking round him, said it must have been obtained improperly, yet, in compliance, he behaved to examine thoroughly; which being done, he declared that he could discover no waste in my possession, but found so much of it in the other buildings (those waste) as would lodge more men than Clark and Wauch had at work. The state of facts he genteelly reported to General Jones, and prevented Wauch's further encroachment at that time. This second disappointment by no means allaying Wauch's malice, but rather inflaming his rancorous heart—and he well knowing I was valetudinary, else he durst not appear so very bold swaggering at my door—he came in his impudent vulgar manner to my house, and without any authority, presumptuously took violent hold of my forage and other utensils, my barn and part of my dwelling-house, threatening my servants, and forbidding them at their peril to work any more to or for me, but vilely enticing them to go into his employment, which some did out of fear and were never

paid for their service, and saying he would send me to the Provost in New York as soon as I got well. To which I replied that he had not power to do so; that I was too good a subject for the Provost. In this unprecedented inhuman manner did Colonel Clark, by his barbarous deputy, insult my indisposition, violently seize and forcibly keep possession for several months of the lands and others that I had under lease and was paying rent for, without ever offering or giving me the least compensation; nor would they accept my mild offers of communicating to them all the conveniences of my whole subject upon these premises at any rate reasonable betwixt honest men, or by the appraisement of judicious people mutually chosen, to which fair proffers no man of good principles would have objected.

Under all the agitations that my present indisposition and such tyrannical encroachments must have given my feelings, I remained quiet and submissive to the injurious treatment they afflicted me with; on the one hand being averse to give the general any avoidable trouble, and on the other hand was disposed to use all mildness in preserving my temporary property in both land and produce; until implacable Wauch extended his arbitrary severities the length of interrupting my servants in manufacturing my hay, looking after my crop, and carting off my apples, or in short doing any other requisite work of the season upon my farm. Nay, not quite content with such a claim of injuries to my perishing interest, which for want of health I could not give any personal attendance to, he outrageously proceeded at last to remove my fences, expose my fruit land, throw open my enclosed grounds, turn their cattle and horses in upon my reserved pasture, and almost totally trampled, ate, and ruined my whole crops of wheat, corn, hay, grass, and vegetables of considerable value; so effectually wreaking his vengeance,

that the subjects of my rent and support were not only lost, but next to being totally exhausted; and so perfectly wasting Mr. Loyd's loyal estate that his agent, Mr. Green, regularly entered a formal protest against Colonel Clark and all his adherents (particularly Bashaw Wauch) for legal indemnification of the proprietor's interest. But that necessary step not comprehending my claim for loss or damage, I fall to seek my redress for the depredations of these cormorants in some of the British courts of justice, or from the British Parliament, where I hope to be heard.

While immersed in these calamities, I was plagued with the additional distress of an unseasonable visit at this time from a rascally party of plundering rebels from Connecticut side of the sound; who, coming over the channel in night time, surrounded my house, broke up, seized, and destroyed everything that came in their way, and then departed with whatever was valuable or portable to carry off; capturing fourteen good working-men hands then in my employ, whom they took away prisoners; and in that number was a very valuable negro, a thoroughbred handicraftsman, worth to any man one hundred pounds sterling, and for whom I would that day not have taken one hundred guineas of gold.

Happily I myself escaped by being deeply hid under hay in a certain concealed part of an outer house in the most private manner, by which precaution I avoided their vigilance and resentment; which expedient I was often necessitated to take for securing my person from surprise, seeing I was so well known to, hated, and dreaded by these Connecticut rebels, that many stratagems had been concerted for my captivity, so that I seldom durst be two nights at an end in the same bed or house.

Left in this dismal situation between the unmanly, ungenerous, unprovoked, vile machinations of my rapacious,

malicious, and invidious countrymen on the one hand, and the depredations of my mortal enemies on the other, I was very much nonplussed how to conduct myself. But recollecting that my most promising immediate relief might be obtained from that misled veteran, Colonel Clark, and his avaricious tribe of deputies and assistants, I applied by petition to General James Pattison in October last (1779), he being then commandant of New York, praying his excellency would attend to my grievances and grant reparation of the damages done me by Colonel Clark, barrack-master general of his department, as the same is particularly stated in my representation relative thereto, No. 6, yet in my custody for production. Assurances were then given me by Captain Addie, aide-de-camp, that due attention would be paid my clamant representation, so far as having utmost justice done; and indeed I had reason to believe that my case had been taken under consideration, because my best of friends, Mr. Green, told me Colonel Clark had acknowledged to him there was some money due me, in the payment of which he (Clark) was engaged, and would do me justice.

Excited by this encouraging information, I soon attended at the barrack-office, where Gilbert Wauch gave me to know that he was just going to wait on Colonel Clark upon the settlement of my affairs, which he thought would be finished by one o'clock that afternoon, when I might appear. With patience I waited till that appointed hour of day had very long elapsed, and Wauch's fallacious promises were despaired of.

In this dangling manner did I dance three weeks attendance about Colonel Clark and his paltry deputy, daily calling at the barrack office to no purpose. Weary of paying any more court there, I addressed Captain Addie, who with regret told me that General Pattison had taken my petition

and its grievances under consideration, which he would willingly adjust by compromise; but authoritatively he could not regularly attempt to determine, by reason that Colonel Clark, complained upon, was at the head of his own proper department, and of course the commandant could not cognise. But Captain Addie genteelly added that, by General Pattison's orders, he himself carried my petition to Major Andrew, one of General Clinton's aide-de-camps, in view of having it properly terminated, desiring me, in his name, to wait upon Major Andrew for knowing what had been done. I soon repaired to Major Andrew with this message, notifying my present difficulties, and the necessity of my going to England soon, unless some redress was given me at New York.

The major, attentively hearing me at some length, desired I might wait on him next morning at nine o'clock; which hour being come, I duly attended. And to make the more sure of matters I gave in a note in writing, repeating my grievances, the many distresses consequent thereof, for reparation of which calamities I had been long giving ineffectual attendance, and now entreated that matters might be finally settled before the commander-in-chief or his delegate. The major then, to my great disappointment, put me off with coolly repeating my former answer: that Colonel Clark being an acknowledged gentleman of rank in the army, and a direct principal at the head of his own proper department, he only could and certainly would do me material justice without any compulsion; so recommended me to Colonel Clark's honour and integrity for reparation in a genteel manner, since no compulsion could be used in the case; besides, that the commander-in-chief was so immersed in public business, which engrossed his utmost attention, that he had no time to bestow upon my private affairs, nor

could he detach himself for holding any courts of enquiry then at New York.

Thus repulsed, I considered it fruitless to make any further application at New York, seeing the men in highest ranks of military command in America had in effect refused to interpose in redressing the grievances of, and clamant injuries done an innocent, meritorious, oppressed loyalist. Therefore despairing of any reparation in that quarter of the world, I took my leave, avowing openly that I would ship myself for England, to lay my complaints and their oppressions in America before our gracious Sovereign, his ministry, my honest countrymen, and the nation at large, to evidence how injuriously and barbarously the honest loyalists—our King's best friends—were treated, and often neglected by his Majesty's servants abroad.

Accordingly I prepared for the voyage, taking my passage in one of the fleet then getting ready to sail for England, and embarked on the 23rd December, 1779, on board the *Houghton*, store-ship in the ordnance service, paying sixteen guineas for my passage and fifteen more for my stores. After thirty days' tempestuous weather we ran into Milford Haven, in South Wales, whence I pushed my way to London, in the flattering hope of meeting my honourable and esteemed acquaintances, but none of them had I the pleasure of seeing, viz., the Earl of Balcarras, Lords Petersham and Radon; Generals Carleton, Phillips, Powell, and Hamilton; Colonels Anstruther and Archibald Campbell; and Captains Monie, Twiss, etc., whose good offices I could safely depend on to direct me to the proper channel of application for having my grievances publicly known, and ample retribution made for the losses I have sustained by my loyalty, and for the services I have rendered my king and country in the wilds of America.

If my countrymen are not deaf to the voice of humanity and gratitude, I certainly have some claim to their attention in both these views of me; and I am unquestionably the more encouraged to hope for their friendly considerations, that since my arrival in Britain I have learned that many people who never endured losses, hardships, and services in any degree comparable to my very severe trials, have been esteemed worthy of public notice and rewards; and that many loyal American refugees are at this juncture under pensions or receiving gratuities for only partially losing their fortunes, whereas unhappy I have totally lost my all. Withal there may be few, if any, of these good men who can say candidly that they ever toiled, travelled, and fought in the royal cause, as I have repeatedly, cheerfully, and am ready yet to do, if called forth to action in any quarter of the world for the cause of my king and native country.

Having in course of the preceding details so frequently and repeatedly mentioned my connection with and employment in the military line, and contingent losses and disbursements that unavoidably attended these services, I take the liberty to condescend on the various particulars relative thereto and consequent thereof, which I annex in an account of proceeds, both for public information and with the declared intention of bringing them forth in charge against Government, in full confidence of suitable redress, by ordering me immediate payment of my disbursement for the public service; of my daily pay, totally in arrear; together with due compensation for all the damages I incurred and the losses I sustained through my various connections with the royal army in America, and my loyal adherence to the interest of Great Britain—particularised as follows, viz.:—

ACCOMPT: JOHN M'ALPINE AGAINST GOVERNMENT FOR HIS
DAILY PAY, ATTENDANCE ON, AND SERVICE WITH THE ROYAL
ARMY IN AMERICA, HORSES FURNISHED, AND WORK PERFORMED
AT TICONDEROGA.

To my time and services (1776) attending General Carleton and his army in their various movements and operations at and about the Lakes, Crownpoint, and Canada in the year 1776, slumped at one hundred pounds.

To my pay (1777) at the rate of ten shillings and sixpence per day—being the same that Major Hughs, while I attended him, and which Generals Burgoyne and Phillips bound themselves to pay me—charged from the 1st of June, 1777, that I engaged with them, until the 1st of May, 1778, that after my liberation from captivity I was disjoined from military service, inclusive, two hundred and seventy-four days at ten shillings and sixpence is one hundred and thirty-seven guineas sterling, or in American currency, two hundred and fifty-five pounds fourteen shillings and eightpence.

To the value of two excellent horses furnished to Lord Petersham, upon the service in General Burgoyne's army in 1777, worth in currency forty-eight pounds.

To wages paid out by me to hay-workers at Crownpoint in 1777, making hay there for the army by General Hamilton's order, thirteen pounds eleven shillings.

To seventy days' work of my man-servant, yoke, four oxen, chains, etc., employed in various removes and carriages at Ticonderoga and its environs by General Powell's orders in 1777, charged at a dollar per day in currency, twenty-eight pounds.

Total pay, disbursements, horses, and services—four hundred and forty-five pounds five shillings and eightpence.

ACCOMPT OF CHARGE BY JOHN M'ALPINE ON GOVERNMENT FOR
THE DAMAGES HE INCURRED AND LOSSES THAT HE SUSTAINED
BY DESTROYING HIS HOUSES, CROPS, ETC., WHILE HE WAS
ATTENDING THE ROYAL ARMY IN AMERICA.

To the value of houses, cattle, horses, corn, hay, and other produce, and farming utensils, furniture, and other effects destroyed by the troops and enemies while I attended the service with General Carleton in Canada, the Lakes, and Crownpoint in 1776—currency four hundred pounds.

To value of clothing, furniture, and other effects, gold joanes and other pieces of money, plundered out of my batteaux at St. John's when I was carried to Canada to assist the remove and further the service with General Carleton—currency eighty pounds.

To value of my baggage and other effects carried off (1777) in the batteaux by our rebel prisoners when they escaped from Ticonderoga to New England side, in place of going to Crownpoint to make hay as ordered by General Hamilton—currency thirty pounds. Five hundred and ten pounds.

General Powell having employed me at Ticonderoga in serving the stores, etc., and engaged me to be the last man to leave that garrison, he becoming bound to pay my damages, I fall to charge the loss sustained when I was then captured and made prisoner, viz.:—

To the value of my best eight horses, worth twenty guineas each in Canada, inclusive, one hundred and sixty-eight pounds—currency two hundred and ninety-eight pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

To ten horses of inferior quality, valued at eight guineas each, inclusive, eighty guineas—currency one hundred and forty-nine pounds six shillings and eightpence.

To ten head of fine oxen and breeding cattle, valued at one hundred pounds.

To my whole clothing, furniture, and other effects—one thousand pounds.

To value of my crops of corn, hay, etc., farming and other utensils and effects on my land, and lost one hundred and sixty pounds.

Premium of a half-joana each lost by the capture of thirty officers' horses going on hire to Canada, and captured with me when intercepted by the rebels on the lake going from Ticonderoga, inclusive, upon the whole a loss of fifty-five pounds sterling, being in currency ninety-seven pounds ten shillings. One thousand eight hundred and five pounds ten shillings.

Total of these losses: two thousand three hundred and fifteen pounds ten shillings.

ACCOMPT: JOHN M'ALPINE AGAINST GOVERNMENT FOR HIS LOSSES AT LOYD'S NECK, UPON LONG ISLAND, WHEN PLUNDERED BY THE CONNECTICUT REBELS (1779), AS MENTIONED IN HIS MEMOIRS.

To the value of a handicraftsman, fine negro, well worth one hundred guineas—rated in currency at one hundred and eighty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

To two vessels loaded with wood then carried off—one hundred and twenty pounds.

To a small boat—well worth thirty-five pounds.

To furniture broke and carried away—forty pounds.

Total losses at Long Island : three hundred and eighty-one pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

ABSTRACT ACCOMPT OF THE CHARGE MADE BY JOHN M'ALPINE AGAINST THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR PAY, DISBURSEMENTS, AND LOSSES IN AMERICA.

To daily pay, disbursements, and services while connected with the British armies under Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Hamilton, and Powell in 1776 and 1777, per accompt—four hundred and forty-five pounds five shillings and eightpence.

To amount of his losses by rebel depredations, etc., while he attended the armies under Generals Carleton, Powell, etc., in 1776 and 1777, which these officers engaged to be reimbursed, per accompt—two thousand three hundred and fifteen pounds ten shillings.

Total charge by his connection with the armies—two thousand seven hundred and sixty pounds fifteen shillings and eightpence.

To amount of the loss he sustained by the rebel depredations at Loyd's Neck, Long Island, as per accompt of particulars, 1779—three hundred and eighteen pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

Total charge for occurrences in the course of the American war that he was connected with the British service, from 1775 to 1780—three thousand one hundred and forty-two pounds nine shillings.

To my charge for the damages done by Colonel Clark and his barrack department upon my farm, held under lease in Long Island, by taking my contract wood for fuel for the troops in barracks; using and destroying my crops of all kinds; possessing all my houses, forage, and utensils for his works; abusing my cattle, etc.; my lost benefits and time while idle and seeking reparation at New York in vain; and my expenses of coming now to Britain in expectation of being reimbursed by Government, since all these contingent losses were incurred, as Mr. Clark said, by accommodating the British troops and national service—one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

Total charge by John M'Alpine against Government—five thousand and nine pounds two shillings and fourpence.

Finis.

April 1883.

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